

Engage yourselves in the same political-cultural-ethical struggle that made Com. Subodh Banerjee an ardent Communist revolutionary

—COM. SHIBDAS GHOSH

[We give below the translation of the speech of our beloved leader and teacher, Com. Shibdas Ghosh made on the occasion of paying homage to Com. Subodh Banerjee, a member of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau of our party, who breathed his last on 16th September '74. The meeting was held at Saheed Minar Maidan, (Briefly reported in our last issue) Calcutta on 23rd September under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of our party.]

In spite of taking utmost care on the part of the translator, inaccuracy and inadequacy of expression are not ruled out. But that will be translator's responsibility and of none else.]

Comrade President, Friends and Comrades,

I beg your apology at the very outset as because I am compelled to make my speech sitting (due to his ill-health printer) even at this condolence meeting.

You have just now heard about Comrade Subodh Banerjee from the leaders of different left parties. Everyone is saying and I know that all of you who have assembled here to pay your homage, to express your pain and sorrow, you too, in consonance, believe heart and soul that he was a dedicated revolutionary, and a bold leader of revolutionary mass movement. The ideology, the principles and the ideals he preached to the people, he has tried to mould his life and build up his character through struggle accordingly. He was not that sort of leaders who would talk of ideology and principles only in their pulpit speeches and writings, but would not practise them in every sphere of their life. First of all, I want to draw your attention to this very aspect of Com. Banerjee's character in this condolence meeting. Leaders do appear, they have appeared in the past, and also will appear in the future. As to myself and to my party this is not at all a very important point for consideration. All of you present here also know that in all countries and in our country, during the freedom struggle and in the subsequent people's liberation struggles as well, many persons have given up everything, have sacrificed their all.

Such persons have appeared in large numbers in the revolutionary movement in the all countries.

will be a travesty of truth if this is not recognised. It is not proper to take resort to falsehood even while paying homage to any leader. No great thing can be achieved by falsehood. Those who know the history of the world, all of them will agree that in our country as well as in other countries, in Communist movement too, there was no dearth of leaders with erudition and wisdom. But what I want to impress upon you is that Subodhbabu possessed that quality which was often found lacking even among those eminent leaders who had the capacity to sacrifice many things. (Here his voice was choked with emotion and he could continue his speech after a while). This very aspect of his character—I want to project before you, I want you to grasp. I know him. (His voice again became choked) Perhaps none else knows him better than myself. For a long period of twenty eight years, right from the very beginning of his political career, he was my close compatriot. During this long period, amidst weal (Contd to Page 4)

To Our Readers

As the printing press will remain closed during the Puja holidays, the next issue of Proletarian Era will be published on 15th November '74 instead of November 1, '74

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Observe 58th Anniversary of November Revolution

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of our party has called upon all the district units of the state of West Bengal to observe from 7th to 17th November the following programme and to participate in it wholeheartedly:

The programme includes Pin-flag collection, group meetings, local mass meetings, propaganda squad, wall-writings etc. as well as organising demonstrative stalls for selling of party literature as a part of our literary campaign.

He has urged upon the people of West Bengal to join in thousands in the Central Mass meeting to be held on 8th November at Saheed Minar Maidan, Calcutta at 4 p.m. to discuss about 'the significance of November Revolution and our task' which will be addressed by our beloved leader and teacher. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as the main speaker.

More Than 150 SUCI and DSO Leaders and Workers Arrested In Recent Bihar Movements

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Gaffor Government in Bihar, following the footprints of all dictators of the world, has resorted to a most severest of attacks on the popular mass movements in order to throttle the voice of the people. The more the people's movement is gaining in strength and intensity, the more the Indira brand socialist government in Bihar is becoming thoroughly isolated from the people the more sinister attack is being let loose on all the left and democratic forces of Bihar. The Gaffor Government, at such a situation, did not like to miss the chance of unleashing its barbaric onslaught upon the leaders and workers of SUCI who always, it finds, stand by the struggling people.

In the recent movement particularly on the occasion of three-day bandhs, a good number of leaders of SUCI and DSO were arrested by police from different parts in Bihar. The leaders and workers were also victims of police brutalities. Com. Amar kumar Pandey, a distinguished and popular leader in Bihar, a member of State Committee of the Party and State Secretary

of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and Maheswar Prosad Upadhyay were arrested under DIR on 4th October. Besides these leaders, hundreds of arrest warrants have been issued against leaders, organisers and workers of our party and DSO in Arrah, Chhapra, Dhanpur, Marhaura, Dhanbad and other Districts.

Comrades, Benoychandra Singh, Sibchandra Singh, President and Vice-President respectively of DSO, Muzaffarpur District Committee and more than hundred distinguished organisers including Com. Mahammad Idris have been arrested. Two other DSO Comrades of Dumka District, it is just learnt, have also been arrested.

Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Secretary, All India Democratic Students' Organisation (AIDSO) has issued a statement strongly protesting against the arrests of numerous DSO leaders and workers which includes the President and Vice-President of Muzaffarpur District Committee of AIDSO, i.e. Com. Benoy chandra Singh and Sibchandra Singh respectively and Comrades, Durgaprosad Goswami, Chandrasekhar Pramanik,

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Aftermath of so-called anti-Inflationary measure by central govt.

A revolutionary party that dare lead the working masses to revolutionary transformation of the society bringing an end to exploitation of man by man cannot be so only in its empty claim but must have the power and capacity to analyse and correctly understand the concrete problems of society and present before the people the correct thinking, the correct way to their solutions. It is here, precisely in this test is determined the character of a true revolutionary party reflecting the base political line of the proletariat. Only three months back, the bourgeois rulers would have the working people believe that the ordinance clamping a wage-cut by way of compulsory deposit of any increase in wages and salaries was for containing inflation and to be specific to keep the budgetary deficit within the declared limit. It is then our party alone that thoroughly called the bluff of the bourgeois rulers by showing with incontrovertible logic and facts that the bourgeois government's particular measure would only land the economy in far more deeper crisis and the inflationary spiral instead of being abated, its fire would further be fed by such measure. Facts, now, not only thoroughly expose the hypocrisy of the bourgeois rulers but also prove the correctness of the analysis of our party, the party reflecting base political line of the proletariat.

Central Committee's Analysis of the Inflationary Situation

Our Central Committee showed in its Statement on the "Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) ordinance" 1974.

"It is not the 'Wage-Price Spiral'—the fanciful theory of the Government and its economic advisers that is responsible for the present inflationary condition, rather the inflationary trend and the price rise of all commodities are the inevitable outcome of the law of maximum profit of the present day capitalist economy which has been further accentuated by the anti-people, pro-capitalist, pro-monopolist policies of the Government such as the unbridled deficit financing to meet up the continuously increasing expenditure on unproductive defence industry, huge expenditure on useless nuclear experiments and all other unnecessary and exorbitant expenditure on top-heavy administration, extortionate indirect taxation, inflationary credit policy, complete failure of the Government to check black money and black-marketing, failure in creating conditions for widening of internal market and augmenting production, particularly agricultural production and finally refusal on the

part of the Government to introduce all-out state-trading in all essential Commodities." [Emphasis added].

As such, "The Central Committee is convinced that this ordinance can in no way curb the inflationary trend in the least, on the contrary it will aggravate the very problem and add the spiralling of price and consequent fall of value of money in so far as it will lead to further curtailment of already low purchasing capacity of the common people resulting in more contraction of internal market which in its turn will further dampen the whatever little urge for capital investment for production is there. This will again act as a brake in the process of raising the production level without which all talk of putting a check on the dangerous inflationary trend in our capitalist economy is nonsense" [emphasis added].

(Proletarian Era-vol 7 No. 19—15th July '74)

Instead of giving our own comments, we would like to bring together bare facts as revealed in various newspaper reports, reports of RBI and other government agencies which go whole hog to prove the correctness of every bit of analysis, quoted above, of our party.

Budgetary Deficit

Mounts to Rs. 656 crores.

The Statesman, on October 1, '74 reports that the budget deficit of the Union Government had touched the staggering figure of Rs. 656 crores on September 13, '74. This has been reported by the RBI in its weekly statistics. At this level, the budgetary deficit is almost Rs. 100 crores higher than it was around the same date in 1973-74 when it was Rs. 567 crores. And this is despite the repeated assurance of the Union Finance Minister while placing the general budget that the deficit would be strictly limited to the figure of Rs 126 crores indicated in the budget.

Mounting Additional Taxes

The extent of deterioration in the Government's financial position reflected in the deficits can be well appreciated if account is taken of the mounting revenue earnings of the Government by way of increasing the burden of taxation. Taking together the regular budget and the supplementary budget, the Government has imposed net additional burden of taxation calculated to yield Rs. 442 crores in full year and Rs. 346 crores in the current fiscal year. The two railway budgets together make a total impost to the tune of Rs. 277 crores. Taking all the four budgets together the total burden of fresh taxation amounts to Rs. 850 crores in a full year and Rs. 620 crores in 1974-'75. This sets up a record indeed; a record of exploitation surpassing any Government in the past in our country.

Revenue Collection UP

But is it a fact that actual revenue collection not been higher? No. It has increased. Take the figures. The Union Government's tax collections in the first four months of the current financial year have shown all round improvement. From April to July '74, revenue collection was Rs. 346 crores more than the

corresponding period last year. Actual collection being Rs. 1,650.82 crores compared to Rs. 1,304 crores a year back. The estimated revenue income from indirect taxes like union excise and customs duties, this year would be Rs. 1423.54 crores compared to Rs. 1110.88 crores, a year earlier. (Economic Times—Sept. 26, '74)

Pruning of Plan Outlay

How is it that when there has been an increase in revenue collection along with the staggering increase in fresh taxes the deficits also mount in the Union budget? Is it because of any increase in plan outlay calculated to mitigate even to a small extent the yawning problem of unemployment or attending to urgent questions like relief to draught affected people, electricity generation and other welfare measures?

The question was posed to the Prime Minister by the interviewer of All India Radio on October 1. His specific question was as to why there was still not any atmosphere of austerity and as to how the PM was going to build up a new mood of national endeavour? But the Prime Minister though a bourgeois politician has long given a good bye to the moral code of old generation leaders like her father. She has set up a new moral code in politics which her followers throughout the country are following with zest. Here are two specimens of such moral code. In reply to this specific question her answer was: "the Government itself has severely cut down expenditure as an essential part of its strategy to fight inflation. We have slashed down funds for many non-development programmes and even for normal administration." She, however remained silent as to what were the non-development programmes that had been slashed down and how the normal administrative expenditure had

been cut down. But informations about these matters have come to light. The Statesman report says that there has been a drastic cut of Rs. 200 crores in plan outlay which were not held to be 'non developmental' in plan document.

The Economic Times (October 2, '74) gives further report which is as follows:

The finance ministry has called for the elimination of cash losses of a large number of public sector undertakings by instructing the managements of those undertakings to take a 'rough with smooth' policy which means meeting the losses by profits elsewhere. Excepting public sector enterprises which are in construction phase or are in certain key sectors like steel, coal, mines and fertilisers where the issue of price revision is pending with the Government subsidies would be stopped and the losses are to be made good by 'efficient management' and 'pursuance of national price policies'. While the latter means a blanket approval for price hike of goods of those undertakings, the former means a blanket ban on recruitment of staff. The finance ministry's circular says specifically that there would be a complete ban on filling up of vacancies except typists and stenographers other than by transfer, promotion or adjustment of staff rendered surplus. It has instructed that there should be a thorough review of actual requirement of staff in all ministries and to ensure that the essential functions and peripheral responsibilities in the state and concurrent fields such as health, education, social welfare are cut down as far as possible and surplus staff located. The State Governments have also been asked to follow this line of cost reduction.

This means, therefore, even ban on minimal

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Our Central Committee's Apprehension Comes True

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creation of employment in Government departments not to speak of creation of millions of jobs for the crores of unemployed manpower. But what is the result of this heroic (!) exercise? This would only ensure a saving of 2 p.c. of the administrative expenditure! The unemployed youths who are giving cheers to this great Deliverer of Asia (!) will therefore have no difficulty in getting deliverance at her heads, deliverance in the forms of hunger, depravity and ignoble deaths.

Now the other specimen. In reply to another question of the interviewer as to what the Government was doing when the crisis is deepening, the newspapers were full of reports of suffering and even starvation deaths, the Marie Antoinette of our land had no qualms to say: "Everything that is written is not necessarily true. We have enquired into some of the gruesome reports of children being killed and have found them to be baseless." Compare this denial to reality. In Assam, a Session Judge in the state capital while trying a woman accused of murdering her 45-day old child remarked recently:

"I am constrained to observe that here is a fit case which should be taken note of by the society in which we live. I am sure that the helplessness and poverty of the accused led her to kill her own baby." [Economic Times editorial Comment—12th Sept '74] Yet the Prime Minister is an honourable person!

But no wonder that with this attitude the Government will do nothing other than exhorting the big farmers and traders to sell whatever stock they are holding to the Government and importing grains from outside while the big farmers are demanding through their Association more higher price as a condition precedent to releasing their existing stock of at least 36 million

tons of grains, hoarded inside the country.

Falling Reserves—the Relief Measure!

The Government in a bid to earn foreign exchanges took a policy of draining out consumer-goods as exportable items like fine quality rice, sugar, edible oils, fish among other items. But faced with famine conditions all over the land it is now importing foodgrains after its disgraceful performance in food front. The agricultural production in absence of a comprehensive development policy which includes radical land reforms, is steadily falling just as in the case of industrial production. The Government this year has set the target of procurement at 5 million tons which means it will have to import foodgrain to the tune of about 8 to 10 million tons in order to keep whatever public distribution system it now maintains. This means a tremendous pressure on foreign exchange reserves built up with export earnings at the cost of people's untold hardships and from drawals on IMF. The reserves are steadily dwindling in as much as within two months upto September 13, depletion of reserves has been of the order of Rs. 150 crores. And this is despite thrice earlier drawals of credit this year on the IMF. Now the Government has been driven to make drawals on the IMF's extended oil facility which not only means a higher rate of interest on the quantum of new loans under the new facility to be sanctioned by the international body out of 590 million Special Drawing Rights to which India is entitled but also gives it the authority to study India's economy and economic policies to suggest changes, to improve the balance of payments.

Government Has No Plea

So the Government has absolutely no plea for the

mounting figure of deficits in the budget other than to meet up continuously increasing expenditures on unproductive defence industry, useless nuclear experiments and all other unnecessary and exorbitant expenditures on top-heavy administration. The plan outlay has been pruned to the tune of Rs 200 crores. In the name of economy measures blanket approval has been given to all public sector undertakings to raise the prices of their goods and services. On top of all these there has been a blanket ban on further recruitment of staff including daily wage earning casual labour in all departments run by Central and State Governments thereby making a dead stop to whatever little employment opportunities were there. The plausible plea of enhancement in relief measures does not hold good also as it is being done at the cost of mounting burden of foreign debts and after what Sri Chavan has said returning back from his begging mission. On the other hand there has been increase in extortionate indirect taxation to the tune of Rs. 850 cores in single year and actual increase has been made in revenue collection already by more than Rs 300 crores.

IMF & World Bank Reports—A Dismal Picture of Bourgeois World

The World Bank and its counterpart the IMF in their report present a gloomy picture for the entire capitalist world for years to come. The capitalist world is in the grip of inflationary pressure. Inflationary rate has risen the height of 12% from 7% last year; the declaration of economic growth when the volume of total output in the industrial capitalist countries suffered an outright *although* small decline; disequilibrium in international payments due to rapid increase not only in the prices of crude but

in the prices of agricultural products and essential raw materials for industries. The report also does not fail to mention the especially serious situation in countries like India which are net importers of high-priced cereals as well as oil and whose own export earnings have not shared substantially in the recent upsurge of Primary Commodity Prices.

But this is nothing new to us. Long back, reviewing and examining the bourgeois world, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, leader and teacher of our party and an eminent Marxist thinker of this era pointed out clearly that the capitalist world market which had been enjoying relative stability despite periodic crisis till the second world war lost it completely after the war and the crisis was now a daily, an hourly affair. So it can only strive to tide over one impasse to be ditched in deeper impasse. And India's capitalist economy being but a part and parcel of this world capitalist order can not be any exception. The only difference that the capitalist rulers of this country have brought about is their imposition of higher and heavier burden of exploitation on the people by means of heavier dose of indirect taxation, cheap credit policy and such other fiscal and monetary policies that serve the aggregate interest of the capitalist class by ensuring to them maximum profit which is the law of capitalism and a free hand to speedier accumulation of capital at the cost of the colossal sufferings of the common people. But he warned again as did the Central Committee of our party under his leadership in its statement on the ordinance that these policies would surely spell doom by leading further curtailment of already low purchasing capacity of the common people resulting in further contraction of internal market.

Recession Looms Large

Over the Economy

Now that has exactly happened. A distinct recessionary trend in the economy is visible. The RBI in its annual report ended June '74 notes that the monetary and fiscal measures that have been taken for curbing demand "which will necessarily have to continue, will impinge to some extent on investment for enlargement of productive capacity in the public and private sector". This half-hearted pronouncement of fact can not hide the gravity of the situation which is being noted, today by bourgeois newspapers.

Two "different sets of forces have been let loose: one pushing the cost and the other reducing the effective demand. The cost push inflation together with insufficient demand and insufficient saving for productive purposes instead of cancelling each other might accentuate the vicious circle of insufficient production and inflation"

(Economic Times—'Shadow of Recession.—

September 15, '74)

The Statesman has also noted the ominous signs of recession.

It reports (September 18, '74) that most heavy industrial units who normally need orders for around the next three years, those in the wagon and heavy engineering sector find that they do not have orders for next year and this is considered a dangerous sign. Falling orders are also the lot of other units including steel industry which finds that it has an accumulating stock of structural sowing to the recent restriction on the use of cement [Cement is being shipped away to earn foreign exchange!—writer]. The paper, therefore, comments that "there was stagnation in industrial production last year when the rate of growth was a bare 0.7 per cent. The hope of the Ministry of Industrial Development is that a three to four per cent rise will be registered this year but judging from present trends, even this modest

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Not Pedanticity, not Sacrifice alone-but Adherence to a Correct

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and woe, ups and downs of his life, I have observed one thing in him. Today, I shall tell you just that.

Among all of our leaders he was the most popular and well-known to the masses. And as the most popular and well-known leader he earned high esteem and reverence from all strata of people. Even in the government departments as well as in the press circle he had much reputation and influence. Under these circumstances and in such an atmosphere, as far as I have closely and thoroughly observed the different mass movements and much as I have seen many eminent leaders, men of ideals in these movements over a long period—I have found that even many eminent leaders, men of principles under such a situation were unable to protect themselves from the pernicious influence of individualism, vile individuality, egotism and self-conceit. "Populism", I mean thereby popular gestures—the very way to behave with common people, to talk, to conduct in such a way so as to earn cheap popularity and fame—keeping only this in view, one who adopts this style of movement falls victim to populism. This occurs as an inevitable outcome of one's eager desire to earn fame. And because of this, I have found that many eminent leaders of mass movements and men of principles, of ideals so easily have fallen victim to false prestige and vile individualism.

As because I have seen Subodhababu most intimately and very thoroughly I know him, I can tell you that even in such a background, that is in spite of all these favourable conditions existing in the surrounding for one to fall victim to populism—I am speaking not only of his achieving a high standard of political consciousness, attaining a remarkable power of oration and brilliant organising ability but of his successfully reaching

such a height of cultural-ethical standard and revolutionary character where he could always unconditionally and without any reservation surrender his self interest, his everything personal to the revolution, to the ideology through an untiring struggle following the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the thoughts, ideals and the revolutionary basic teachings of our party. Even many eminent leaders appearing in the revolutionary movement fail to attain this standard. They speak of lofty ideals but I have observed that most of them fail to attain this quality in their life. (Here Comrade Ghosh's voice got choked with emotion).

If our party workers, leaders and the vanguards of revolution can take this lesson from the life and character of Comrade Banerjee, then and then only I shall consider that you have correctly given him his due honour, you have correctly paid him due homage.

"Subodhababu had no drawbacks, he was full of qualities"—to say this, would also be a travesty of truth. All human beings are nothing but admixtures of drawbacks and qualities. Marx, Lenin, Stalin, were human beings, Mao-Tse-Tung is a human being—we too are human beings. In plain language, whatever elevated standard we may attain, if the qualities that we are supposed to possess even at that elevated standard, are absent or if these are lacking in us—then this will be considered as drawbacks of our character. From this angle, at all standards, even in a communist society where we conceive of people attaining higher standard than that of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao-Tse-Tung—they too will be admixtures of drawbacks and qualities. The only difference is that the drawbacks and qualities of great men and the drawbacks and qualities of common men are not of the same type. Even though many a time

these outwardly appear to be alike, in actuality these are not so. For your standard what is a great quality, may be considered a great drawback in case of a great man. If we cannot constantly attain more and more higher standard, more and more elevated height—even the highest qualities we achieved in the past in relative consideration will turn out to be our drawbacks. So, as because Subodhababu was an ardent communist leader, a dedicated revolutionary, he was free from all drawbacks—this is no correct evaluation. All men have qualities as well as drawbacks. We all have some shortcomings in our own fields of activities—in relation to the respective standard that we are supposed to possess. When we cannot keep up and constantly develop the qualities that we are supposed to possess in respect to our standard is in itself a drawback. Such drawbacks appear in all of us. But I have drawn your attention to the fact that if you desire to pay respect to Comrade Banerjee at all, then do it from this aspect.

Today, the country is passing through a grave crisis. People launched struggles in the past, I believe heart and soul will jump into struggles again and again. Struggles did appear in the past. Millions sacrificed their lives in the struggles. Many good souls, many beautiful lives, many leaders sacrificed their lives. Yet what we want, what we desire, our object—the Revolution—the Socialist Society—we could not establish. Revolution is yet far off; but as there are deep discontents amongst the people, struggles will recur again. So, perhaps proper regard will not be shown to him, if simply and merely it is said that "a militant leader as he was his death is a great loss to people's struggle." I myself at least have not understood him in this light. I have realised that

with whatever sincerity struggle is conducted—if the path, the object, the thought-process is wrong, then in spite of the great sincerity with which struggle is ensued, ultimately it will not only yield nothing good but on the contrary bring about disaster. History has taught us this lesson. Though sincerity is the basis of everything, yet with sincerity alone we cannot win struggles. Along with sincerity, the most essentials are the correct base political line and the correct ideology and the correct path.

Those qualities of Subodhababu which you praise—at a time of crisis as at present, when such degeneration has set in on all sides and at every field of social life, such a degeneration from whose poisonous influence the left movements, the mass movements, even the revolutionary movements are not free—when lack of ideal and immoral conducts in the political movements, revolutionary movements, that we experience every moment and which are hurting us so much—at such a time what should be kept in mind is that the qualities, the dedication of Subodhababu what everybody admits—the qualities he could maintain in tact despite reaching such a height of popularity, the unconditional submission of his everything personal to mass movements, to revolution and party—which cannot be found now-a-days even in renowned leaders—what is it the product of? Even in the midst of such an all out decadence, where from this has come into being—the politics, the ideal, the ideology, the organisational process, the essence of party's teachings centring which this has developed—you shall have to take note of that, you shall have to know that, you shall have to realise that. To give an example in the passing—observing Subodhababu's funeral procession

so many persons have said personally, so many individuals sent telegrams, so many letters came complimenting, "we have never witnessed before such a disciplined, such an exemplary funeral procession. Truly you practise in life what you preach about culture, what you talk about 'cultural tone' in political movement. You do not merely shout slogans, you do not merely talk of battles—you say, the men who should struggle, if they do not make themselves worthy in body, mind and culture for revolutionary struggles then only by shouting slogans, instigating people, battles cannot be won." This is the motto of this party. This way we want to develop all the leaders and workers of this party and are still endeavouring untiringly. Of course, I do not claim that we have succeeded in every case covering every aspect of life. Subodhababu is a product of this struggle.

Subodhababu—whom you regard so deeply with all your mind is a product and creation of an untiring struggle. Not dropped from the heaven, not created by the almighty. I think there will remain a serious deception and falsehood if while paying your homage you fail to note that politics, that ideal, that process. And we shall not be able to fulfil his unfulfilled task if such a deception, such a falsehood remains. Never is such a thing possible.

Nothing great can be attained by falsehood. Nothing great can be achieved with even truth alloyed with falsehood. In this regard Saratbabu (the great novelist) observed, "To indulge in falsehood is a crime but to practise truth admixed with untruth is the basest of all." Why did he observe like this? Because he knew, a falsehood shall be revealed today or tomorrow to the truth-seekers, to the

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Political Line and Ceaseless Struggle made Him a rare Communist

struggling people. Those who want progress, and those who struggle—they will detect untruth one day. But when truth remains alloyed with untruth—truth obstructs in the detection of untruth. It becomes much difficult to disclose the identity of an untruth as it is mixed up with a grain of truth. More over, as untruth is mixed up with truth, it takes time for truth to come to light. Even if it does, it does partially, which cannot be comprehended in totality. The practice of half-truth causes serious dis-service to the progressive movement, progress and in the way of achieving anything great. We are seekers of truth, not worshippers of untruth. We may commit mistakes. It is not that we never commit mistakes. But we are not preachers of untruth and we hate from the core of the heart the practice of mixing truth with untruth. This is what I want to say. With this I want to say that as you saw Subodhbabu, as you have seen in him a first ranking leader—that very political movement, that distinct process of application of Marxism-Leninism in this country which made such an event possible—an event of Subodhbabu emerging from the standard of a common man, an ordinary school teacher, an ordinary bank employee gradually rising to the standard of a bold, undaunted communist leader who won the regard and became a beloved leader of the people and even attaining the elevated height of popularity could every moment protect himself from the influence of vile individuality and individualism, and who to the interest of revolution and party, to to the interest of mass movements could give up unconditionally his everything personal—could hand over happily, voluntarily—it is not so easy, it is not a very simple affair. Many leaders show excellent power of oration, power

of writing too many leaders do possess. There have been no dearth of such leaders appearing in any stage of mass movement. But this is a quality which is rarely found in such leaders. Such a character has appeared very seldom in the revolutionary movements, and fewer still, I should say, in this country. I say this not from any intention of injuring or belittling anybody. This country witnessed many movements, many struggles in the past. There have been abundance of popular leaders, orators too were never wanting. But what was conspicuous by its absence was this particular quality of character. What we preach, we do not practise. Most of the leaders—the ideology they preach, they talk of—do not apply in their own life.

The teachings of Marxism-Leninism they preach only in the political movements, at pulpit speeches—but do not apply in their life. Many top leaders, many eminent leaders even do not conduct this struggle to build themselves up in conformity with ideals covering all aspects of life—their family life, personal life, ethics and culture. To this aspect of struggle, they do not pay any heed—they simply neglect it. And because this is neglected—through this loop-hole—many revolutionaries with immense possibilities not only become deviated in thoughts and ideals—but a revolutionary character gets degraded too. Human history is replete with such innumerable instances. And this is where Subodhbabu marked his distinction and excelled many established leaders. And this is where Subodhbabu attained a character of a high ranking communist.

In our country such a character is very rare. Subodhbabu has shown this—through ceaseless struggle upto the last day, the last moment of his life. So, in order

to learn from his life, in order to pay him real homage, we should not take note of the sweetness of his character, his sacrifice, in a word all his qualities in isolation from this very process of struggle.

We shall have to realise that qualities and attainments do not fall from the heaven—these are particular products of a particular struggle. I am not at one with those who believe that genius, personality, talent are inborn. In my opinion, man's consciousness is always in contradiction and conflict with the environment in which he is born and lives. Actually man develops in conflict and contradiction with environment. In this very process of perpetual contradiction and conflict of man's consciousness with the social environment—how and in what manner a man conducts this struggle—guided by which ideal, which morality, which outlook—and how ably he succeeds in conducting this struggle—on these solely depend with what character he will emerge. Naturally, a genius, a personality, a talent—these are particular products of particular struggles. That is why we say—man is a product of history. In turn, it is man who influences and creates history by his thoughts, deeds and struggles. So those who not recognising these phenomena, not recognising these processes that remain at the background of the development of a man only praises a genius—they—even though unknowingly but in reality—preach the theory that talent is inborn. This is unscientific, unhistoric.

The qualities of Com. Banerjee are, therefore, the products of definite, concrete, ceaseless struggles—struggle both inside and outside the party. But not a slogan-oriented, idealless, unethical struggle—not a commonplace struggle

mouth thing certain demands of the people. But on the contrary—it is the product of a firm, definite ceaseless process of struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, party's thoughts and teachings and revolutionary political line—it is the product of a struggle based on principle, ideology, ethics, morality and culture.

Struggles—many leaders conducted. But could all of them happily, unconditionally give up everything personal to the party for the interest of the revolution? All of them had undergone imprisonment too. But could all of them attain such a high standard of ethics and culture—fulfilling which alone a man can do this? In body and mind, in ethics and culture, covering all aspects of life, could they build themselves up worthy for revolution? Many leaders could not accomplish this, though they made immense sacrifice. That is why, it must be kept in mind, though struggle creates a man, but by struggles alone such a personality can emerge—this is not true. Truth lies in the fact that a struggle conducted in a correct process, with definite ideology, ethics, programme and a philosophy—such a struggle alone creates such a personality. So, while paying homage to Subodhbabu, if this is not recognised—then, in the true sense reverence will not be paid to him, he will not be understood correctly. That is why I want to emphasise this very aspect. I consider it to be very important and so I want to highlight this.

I say, that struggles will again appear, today or tomorrow. But if politics is wrong, if ideology is wrong, if in struggles ethics, morality are absent people will fight, people will burst out in anger but movement will proceed not very far. A movement becomes decisive, becomes invincible

and reaches its logical culmination—even if insignificant at the outset but gaining in strength it becomes victorious at the end—only when it is based on correct ideal, correct politics and when it is tuned to a definite and a very high ethical-cultural standard.

Not in pulpit speeches, not in simple preaching, but the real necessity of an ideal lies in awakening and changing the people by bringing them with its golden touch in the midst of struggle and shaking the very foundation of the decadent ethics and culture, inherited from the old society and creating new man in body, mind and culture. The question of ethics, culture and ideology is so important as it makes men worthy for the revolutionary struggle to bring about a change of the society.

That is why Comrade Mao-Tse-Tung said, one cannot master Marxism-Leninism simply through reading of books. Even if you can say a lot about Marxism-Leninism, write and quote from the writings of great Marxist-Leninist thinkers at length—but this is no proof that you have realised Marxism-Leninism, attained an all round knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Likewise, even if you can organise the workers, the peasants, the soldiers in factories, villages and barracks and thereby accumulate sufficient knowledge, gain enough organisational experience and show organisational ability—but this too does not prove that you have realised Marxism-Leninism and have attained a comprehensive knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. Then what is the way to determine that you have correctly realised Marxism-Leninism? It can be determined only, if you are able to integrate the two dialectically, if you can correlate them

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Memorial Meeting

GAUHATI :

A memorial meeting was held on 23rd September under the auspices of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI. Com. Siddeswar Sharma presided.

In paying reverence to the departed leader, Com. Asit Bhattacharyya Secretary, Assam State Committee, SUCI, in his eloquent speech highlighted various brilliant aspects of the character of Comrade Banerjee that made him a high ranking communist revolutionary leader of the people of our country. He urged upon the fighting people of our country to come forward, make good the great loss that the revolutionary movement suffered at the premature death of Com. Banerjee and fulfil the unaccomplished task of revolution, he left over to us.

CUTTACK :

On 22nd September a memorial meeting to pay homage to Com. Subodh Banerjee was held at Cuttack under the Presidentship of Aswini Jena, an advocate.

Comrade Binapani Das, at the very beginning, read out a self composed poem in memory of Com. Banerjee.

Com. Raghunath Das, Secretary, Cuttack City Committee of SUCI, spoke on various brilliant aspects of the life of Com. Banerjee.

Others who addressed the meeting were Sri Biswanath Pandit (SP) Ajoy Routh (CPI M), Robi Singh (Poet), Bijoypodhi Hari (AISP) Madhu Mohanti (Advocate) Chitta Behera (DSO), Robi Narayan Mullick (LIC employees Union), Birkrisna Mohanti (Advocate) Ramkanta Mohanti etc.

ARRESTS

ORISSA

Comrade Banabehari Jena, a member of Orissa State Committee, SUCI, a prominent mass leader, a popular labour leader of the state was detained under MISA on 25th September last.

It is to be recalled that

All sections of people, starting from leaders of different political parties and mass organisations, ministers and common men, have paid their homage to our departed leader, Comrade Subodh Banerjee. we are still receiving numbers of letters and condolence resolutions daily. We are giving below only a partial list of such names :—

CPI(M) :

Promode Dasgupta, Saroj Mukherjee (MP), Abdulla Rasul, Prasanta Sur, Manoranjan Roy, Kamal Sarkar.

RSP :

Makhan Paul, Moni Chakravarty, Sukhamoy Chakravarty.

FB :

Asoke Ghosh, Nalini Guha, Sambhu Ghosh, Bhaktibhusan Mandal, Amar Chakravarty, Shyamsundar Gupta, Gopeswar Mullick.

CPI :

Bhupesh Gupta (MP), Biswanath Mukherjee, Gopal Banerjee, Ajoy Dasgupta, Bhowani Roy Chowdhuri, Ananta Majhi.

SP :

Naren Das, Biman Mitra, Surendramohan, Swarajbandhu Bhattacharjee.

MFB :

Suhrid Mullik Chowdhury (MP), Ram Chatterjee.

RCPI :

Bimalananda Mukherjee.

Workers Party :

Hemen Mukherjee.

Bolshevik Party :

Barada Mukutmoni.

Biplabi Bangla Congress

Ashish Bhattacharyya, Robi Dutta.

Congress (O) :

Pratap Chandra Chandra.

he was detained on the eve of mid-term poll of the state and government was forced to release him by the pressure of mass movements and again he was arrested before the recent Railway strike.

Com. Tapas Dutta, Secretary, Orissa State Committee SUCI has in a statement strongly pro-

gress (R) :

Arun Maitra, Bijoy Singh Nahar, Priyaranjan Das Munshi (MP), Saugata Roy.

PSP :

Balaidas Mahapatra, Acting Governor : Sankarprosad Mitra.

Ministers :

Joyanal Abedin, Sankar Ghosh, Subrata Mukherjee, Pradip Bhattacharyya, Raghunath Reddy (Union Minister).

Other dignitaries.

D. L. Sengupta (MP), Syed Badaruddoja, Sibnath Banerjee (a veteran Trade Unionist), Subimal Roy Chowdhuri, Subodh Das (ex-revolutionaries) Dr. Nani Guha, Dr. Anupam Dasgupta, Vivekananda Mukherjee and Jibanlal Banerjee—Journalist. Sudhir Chopra—New Delhi.

Kalyan Chowdhury Shillong, Raghunath Das—Advocate Cuttack.

Rourkela Workers Union, Rourkela Engineering Workers Union, Assam Tribune Employees Union, Bihar Coal Miners Union, Tata Colliery Workers Union, Copper Mazdoor Union Mosabani, All India Steel Workers Co-ordination Committee, All India Agricultural Workers Federation, All India Federation of Jute Mill Workers Union, West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association (WBCUTA).

Mehmood Hussain—Jawaharlal Nehru University, City College Employees' Union.

Subhashchandra Sarkar—Deputy Editor, Commerce.

Labour Advisory Board, Govt. of W. Bengal, Regional Provident Fund

tested against this fascistic attack of the government let loose on our party and the democratic movement of the state and has demanded his immediate and unconditional release.

WEST BENGAL

On 27th September last Calcutta police arrested Com. Amar Dutta, Gopal Saha, Madan Shahu of

Staff Association, J. Thomas & Associate Co's Employees Union.

Prof. R. K. Tanty—Cachar.

Lucknow Division Insurance Employees Association, Jharkhande Roy (MP), Dayananda, Haryana.

N. K. Chatterjee—Habra. Gourisankar Shyam—Metali, Bankura, Saradakumar—Allahabad : and such other innumerable individuals and mass organisations :

NEWS FROM ASSAM

Dhubri Sub-division in grip of unprecedented famine.

SUCI urges President and Prime Minister of India for immediate intervention.

(By a Staff Reporter)

"At least three hundred persons dying daily in Dhubri Sub division. Government machinery completely callous and inactive. Demand immediate intervention for relief at war footing"—such is the content of a telegram recently sent to President and Prime Minister of India by Comrade Asit Bhattacharjee, Secretary, Assam State Committee, SUCI. This clearly reveals the gravity of the situation which has become more serious in view of the callousness of State Government.

Moreover, Assam State Committee of our party took active initiative in arranging an on the spot enquiry by the leaders of the six left parties represented in Assam State Sangram Committee who released a press statement on 11th Oct. depicting the devastating situation in this area and formulated an eight-point demand including declaring of this area as a famine area.

Chatla area without any provocation. The police refused to release them on bail.

On 1st October the Calcutta Police raided the Ultadanga area and arrested Khudiram Das, Narayan De and Manik Bhowmick in a surprise swoop. The most heinous part of the game is this when Com.

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It is very much surprising that despite such a devastating situation the leaders of CPI(M) and SP rejected suggestions of the SUCI for developing strong mass movements effective enough to compel the Govt to concede to these just demands.

Anti-Famine Demonstration

Bhubaneswar : About ten thousand distressed people of Jaypur Subdivision staged an Anti-famine Demonstration before the Secretariat here on September 27. The rally was organised jointly by SUC, KKMS and DSO.

The demonstrators demanded supply of rice at Re. 1.00 a kg. and 500 gms of rice and 300 gms. of wheat per head per day ; declaration of Jaypur subdivision as a 'famine area', TR and GR, fixation of minimum wage of daily labourers of Rs. 5.00 a day, exemption of taxes for peasants, exemption of poor students' tuition fees, withdrawal of MISA, DIR and Compulsory Deposit Scheme etc.

A five member deputation comprising Comrades Mayadhar Nayak, Balaram Sahu, Jagabandhu Baral, Narendra Senapati and Dinabandhu Prusti met the Chief Minister and submitted a 15-point charter of demands.

A mass meeting was held before the Secretariat under the Presidentship of Com. Binapani Das.

PROTEST RALLY

Rourkela : In protest against the arrest of Com. B. Jena, General Secretary of the Rourkela Engineering Workers Union, under the MISA and also protesting against the lay off in East India Engineering, the workers of Rourkela Industrial Estate observed a token strike on Sept. 28.

Later joint rally of RWU, REWU, DSO, DYO and SUC, Sundergarh Dist. Committee was held before the ADM's office demanding release of Comrade Jena.

DEVOTED TO HIS IDEALS AND A SEEKER OF TRUTH

(Contd. from Page 5)

properly. But what again is understood by correlation? Say, a person by reading books, making discussions and participating in debates has achieved informative knowledge on theoretical Marxism-Leninism and become a scholar thereby. Now he goes to the village, there, for a year or two he takes part in peasant movements—and he at once starts to think—I had enough of theoretical knowledge before and now I have worked with the peasants. So I have succeeded to correlate theory with practice! Again say, a man has struggled for a decade along with the peasants and workers—has fought, has undergone imprisonment and has thereby accumulated enough experience. Now he goes to the National Library and reads within a year all the classics on Marxism-Leninism and works of great Marxist-Leninist thinker. He then starts thinking that he has already enough of practical experiences—and now theoretical knowledge is combined with it! So, what else is left of learning Marxism-Leninism? No Comrades. It is not such easy an affair, not so simple. Mao-Tse-Tung says, this is not correlation of theory and practice proper. This is a mechanical understanding of correlation.

Then how to determine that the two are correlated through a correct dialectical process; how to determine that theory is correctly integrated with practice and Marxism is comprehensively realised? There is only one way to determine this. And that—whether he is reflecting a high standard of ethics and culture in his life. What a beautiful, how wonderful an expression! It means whether there has been total transformation of his life and attitude to things. Marx expressed it differently—in order to change the world, the workers will have to change themselves first.

He said that no doubt the proletariat will lead the revolution, but simply by shouting slogans, by mere fighting, through sacrifice of lives alone they can not achieve this great task of revolution. The revolution shall surely have to wait till the proletariat can transform themselves to make them fit for accomplishing the task of revolution. If the workers cannot change themselves, cannot build themselves worthy of revolution then by raising slogans alone, by laying their lives even, they will not be able to bring about revolution. SUCI is a firm believer of this essence of revolutionary teachings. And as because we believe in this essence of revolutionary teachings, so in SUCI, not only Subodhbabu but, if you enquire you will find that none can become a first ranking leader who cannot surrender his everything personal—happily and unconditionally, even his affection, his love, his sex, his family to the party for the interest of the revolution. High social background, foreign degrees, power of oration, records of undergoing imprisonment—these are no qualifications for anybody becoming a first ranking leader of this party. So, Subodhbabu was a renowned leader, a leader of the first rank—no brothers! this is no adequate understanding of him; along with this if you do not remember that Subodhbabu is a product of an untiring struggle—a struggle in the realm of ideology, principle, morality, ethics, and culture all combined—which SUCI initiated in the political movement from its very inception and continuing till today. Subodhbabu is a memorable character, a creation of that process of struggle. By grasping it alone you can pay him proper homage.

In this context, I cannot but give an answer to one question. For, many

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Crisis of capitalist economy goes deeper and deeper

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achievement will not be possible."

The same paper has commented editorially on 24th September:

"Falling orders in heavy engineering units both in the public and private sectors are the first indications of what is in the offing. An unusual feature is that although there is unmistakable setback in both industrial and agricultural production the pressure on prices has not eased. One reason possibly is a failure to deal with the supply side of the equation: the measures taken, so far are intended to drain away purchasing power by blocking and freezing a part of the earnings of the salary and wage earners... Money supply has undoubtedly been reduced but not enough."

Price of Hypocrisy

But who are paying for this game of deception and hypocrisy of the bourgeois rulers? Not the rulers but the poor working people—mothers killing, selling or abandoning their children, women turning prostitutes, families trekking to cities and towns and turning beggars, thousands among crores of working people dying of hunger while others count the days, subsisting as sub-human species on roots, grass and seeds. It is to them goes our earnest appeal not to give way to despair. Die we must but let us die to change the world, the world completely different from this savage world of exploitation; let us die as revolutionaries. The working people must learn from life's bare experiences, the all important lessons that reflect the only solution to their life's problem and it is provided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh: "You can very easily understand that the

In Letters Of Gold....

In the annals of India's liberation struggle

Your name will shine in letters of gold,

Equipped with the thoughts of Shibdas Ghosh

Oh immortal! we pay you tribute

Subodh Banerjee Red Salute.

Burns in our hearts

The pangs of your memory

With your parting, we miss

A Comrade and a Revolutionary.

No more with us,

In our midst you still abide,

Ever a fighter

In all struggles of life,

You remain an inspiring fountain of truth

Subodh Banerjee Red Salute.

Firm was your pledge

To break a piece

Capital's ruthless chain

To build in this soil

The glorious Proletarian Realm.

Unfinished is the task

Midway your life has set,

This vow in thy name we take:

With blood and soul

To make your dream come true

Shall we march onward, Resolute

Subodh Banerjee Red Salute.

(A song composed by Com. Prasanta Chakraborty of DYO, sang by DYO music squad on the occasion of Com. Subodh Banerjee's condolence meeting (of party workers) on 17th at Mahajati Sadan and on 23rd's Public Meeting at Saheed Minar.

main three questions, the question of solution of unemployment problem, the question of modernisation of agriculture and also the question of industrial development—all these questions are closely related with the question of overthrow of the capitalist state structure as a whole. So the Indian revolution is a revolution for overthrowing capitalism, for removing the bourgeoisie from the state power.

(Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's speech at South 24 Parganas District K & KMF Conference—P. Era July 15, '74)

This is the base political line of the proletariat which the real working class party on Indian soil, the SUCI is carrying forward. Shouldn't the working people, guided by the revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh rise up to free themselves from the social democratic parties who as compromising force are only creating obstacle in their onward

march to create a new society where this colossal waste of human lives and values will only be a thing of the past? The sooner they stand up in discharge of the role, history has devolved on them, the nearer will be the day of reckoning and the bourgeoisie will be paid back in exact coins.

BIHAR MOVEMENT

(Contd. from Page 1)

Mohan Singh and Yadab of Dumka and Biren Ghosh of Singbhum District Committee. She has demanded immediate and unconditional release of all of them and all other arrested in connection with the recent Bihar agitation.

ARRESTS

(Contd. from Page 6)

Badal Pal, a reputed SUCI leader and secretary Ultadanga Maniktalla local committee, SUCI, went to the police station in order to, enquire about the arrests of comrades, he too was put into the bars violating all norms of police code.

The noblest goal of an individual lies in the renunciation of everything for the progress of society and revolution.

(Contd. from Page 7)

supporters and friends outside have asked me one question—many have asked, many have wanted to know. The question is, "After Subodhbabu's death, when his body was cremated then who had performed the last rites?" Some have asked, "why no rituals were performed as is being practised in case of many leaders even in case of many communist leaders? Why have you not done so?" I could not give reply to this question in the press. Since many have asked, it appears that it is a genuine question which has arisen in the mind of many among the people. So I want to provide answer to this question. At the very outset I would like to tell you that everyone should act according to the ideology and faith he preaches. Otherwise, it becomes a practice of falsehood. You all know that Subodhbabu was an atheist, he believed in Marxism-Leninism and he had accepted Marxism-Leninism as the philosophy of his life—he had not accepted it as a philosophy or a theory to chalk out a party programme in the political struggle alone. And the domain of Marxism-Leninism is this material world. We, the Marxists-Leninists, the communist revolutionaries, do not believe in the 'other world' or in 'the existence of soul'. It is not just that we do not believe in these, even more we think that such a deep-rooted faith poses an insurmountable obstacle in the way of realisation of truth by the masses. This is the fundamental basis of science and Marxism-Leninism.

Subodhbabu was an atheist. He was a true Marxist-Leninist as you all know he was loyal and dedicated to his ideology. Your attribution, "like an all-sacrificing saint"—which he was, but not for the salvation of his soul. We, the Marxists-Leninists believe that in this earthly world, to become able to

renounce everything happily and without any reservation, for the welfare of mankind, for the progress of society, for the development and all out prosperity of the humanity and for revolution—herein lies the noblest goal of the individual and his emancipation. Subodhbabu too believed in this heart and soul. Those who know Subodhbabu, they know it well that whatever he believed whole-heartedly, whatever he preached outside, he conducted a relentless struggle to apply them in his own life in minutest details. And this is why you believed him so much and respected him so much. I, too say, it is only for this that he deserves real reverence. On the contrary, had he failed to perform this, he would have fallen in the esteem, become an ordinary man. An established leader like him—he was not an ordinary man or even an ordinary cadre, so that he would have to submit to the family pressure or the people would misunderstand him. He who had won over the hearts of innumerable people through struggles, through deeds, through movements and devotion—if that man would have failed to practise what he preached, then the very foundation of this faith would have crumbled down. What ever one believes in, thinks to be true—to pursue that, is the practice of truth on his part so to say. Then why will he be misunderstood by the people?

There is nothing in it to misunderstand. Subodhbabu was loyal to his ideology, a truth seeker. So before his death, he urged that, "If there is pressure from among the relatives, even then no ritual should be performed. I know that there is no question of party doing this; but even if there is request from the people you shall see that no ritual is performed." It is of course true that such a request has not come, either from

the relatives or the people. This is also a point which no body should miss to note.

Although, had there been any such request, we would not have accepted that. For in my opinion, in the opinion of our party it would have amounted to sheer hypocrisy.

Such an eminent leader, an ardent, undaunted fighter—in whose hands the people have put the right and responsibility of leadership with full confidence, if that man is inconsistent in his precepts and practice and if he fails to apply on each and every occasion of his life with honesty and sincerity, what he preaches, then on what basis can stand the people's faith? If this falsehood persists in the life and conduct of the leaders then how the people will find the strength of their conviction? This very problem has posed a stumbling block before the mass movement, the revolutionary movement in our country. Leaders will profess Marxism-Leninism on the one hand, but will perform the rituals of their deceased parents, for the salvation of their soul in 'the world after', and on the other, they will claim—"we are Marxists-Leninists", but will perform all sorts of religious ceremonies lest they lose popularity—it is due to this hypocrisy that the morale of revolutionary movement in India, its very backbone has been shattered to pieces. Revolution can never be achieved through slogans alone—it never can happen. Our party is conducting an unceasing struggle to build up the revolutionary struggle in India on the firm foundation of ethics, morality and practice of truth. And I am convinced that our people are eagerly looking forward with great expectation to our party.

We cannot afford the people to lose their faith on our party. So we did not want to malign him. His was a bright name till

the last days of his life. He did never submit to weaknesses, did never yield to pressure. Although on this particular instance, no question of putting pressure arose from any quarter. Is it a mean achievement, if we take into cognisance the mental make up of our country? Generally in our society, the pressure comes on such occasions from the relatives. Subodhbabu's wife and daughter, both are present here. If you enquire, you will come to know that they could not even dream of it. Rather they, along with thousands of comrades present, paid their homage with red salute and bade him farewell when his body was placed in the electric furnace. None of them did suggest to perform the last rite. Even if they had expressed such desire I would have definitely pursued them. But they did not say so as they themselves are inspired by the ideals of Subodhbabu. They do understand the ideology of the party. Even his teenager daughter, she too realises that had it been done, it would have put a black spot on his devotion and maligned the good name and fame of her father. No—they could not even think of it. This is why, we decided not to perform any ritual. Our comrades stood with fisted hands raised in red salute, bade him farewell in tears and with slogans, "Red salute-Comrade Subodh Banerjee; we shall never forget you, you will ever remain in our memory." (Here again Comrade Gnosh's voice broke in sobs—he took some time to control himself and then started again). His wife and daughter too joined in this performance. The question of any other ceremony did not arise at all even to them. This very point, I was striving so long to bring home. To preach and talk of revolution outside, without having any bearing on inner life cannot suffice. Succeed or not—we are to constantly conduct struggle to inspire the members of our family with our

revolutionary thoughts and ideals. Revolution outside—and not inside the family, no! Subodhbabu was a vehement and glaring protest against it. Subodhbabu with all his life has brought forth this valuable lesson, that despite immense sacrifice, it was due to this falsehood and pretension, that the door of our liberation could not be opened up. Leaders appeared in the past and will appear time and again but as the leadership, the struggle and our activities could not be freed from the ominous influence of pretension and falsehood, despite tremendous sacrifice, we could not achieve our emancipation.

I shall not take much time, I shall only say to you that those who really desire to pay homage to Subodhbabu, as others have said, along with them I shall also appeal to you—'join in thousands in revolutionary politics, devote yourself for grasping revolution with same honesty, sincerity and dedication like him following his ideals in order to fulfil the unaccomplished task of revolution for which he struggled all through and laid down his life. Then and then only we shall be able to pay due homage to Comrade Subodh Banerjee, shall be able to show him true respect. Otherwise, any homage paid to him will be an ostentation, a formality and a falsehood.

With this I conclude paying him my last regard, my sincerest reverence. You all know that he was my compatriots for a very long period. No doubt, although temporary, it is an irreparable loss to both our party and mass struggle. But it is my firm conviction that the people will come forward to make good this loss. With this I conclude

Long live Comrade Banerjee. Red Salute Comrade Banerjee. Long live Revolution.